New South

- **Virginia Education Crisis**
  Lorin A. Thompson
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- **Bus Desegregation Gains**
- **Highlights from Recent Literature**

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New South Notes

Although "massive resistance" has collapsed in Virginia, there remains the job of estimating the damage that resulted in the closing of schools in some localities. Dr. Lorin A. Thompson, director of the Bureau of Population and Economic Research at the University of Virginia, prepared a paper, in the capacity of a private citizen, on the economic damage which would result if the state of Virginia continued its "massive resistance" program. Not only is this article important to the citizens of Virginia, but it is especially applicable to other deep South states still continuing the policy of "massive resistance" just abandoned in Virginia.

Desegregation in Kentucky schools has shown steady gain through the four-year period since it was initiated. Desegregation has been accomplished on all levels of education in some Kentucky communities with little incident resulting. The Kentucky Department of Education Progress Report is reprinted in part in this issue of New South.

Bus desegregation continues to gain in Southern cities with little noteworthy incidents. The latest results is shown in a spot survey conducted by the Southern Regional Council when Atlanta was ordered by the federal court to desegregate its buses. The report is reprinted here.

The Congregational Church has initiated a new program to aid churches in desegregating their congregations. A reprint from the Christian Century describes this program.

Rounding out *New South* is another Highlights from Recent Literature with recent books featured in this month's offering.

Virginia Education Crisis And Its Economic Aspects

By Lorin A. Thompson

(Editor's Note: Since Dr. Lorin A. Thompson wrote the following article, schools closed in Norfolk and Charlottesville have been reopened and desegregation has occurred in Arlington and Norfolk. However, with other deep South states following the lead of massive resistance which was set previously by Virginia, the points made in this article are highly applicable to other states. Other deep South states, which are now pushing massive resistance to school desegregation policies, have similar school set-ups to Virginia. Historically, the educational and economic aspects of these other Southern states are in line with those of Virginia. Dr. Thompson is director of the Bureau of Population and Economic Research at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville. However, he prepared this paper as a private citizen interested in the school situation.)

• • •

There is increasing concern in Virginia about the future of its public school system. This stems from the controversies centering around the federal court orders to Charlottesville, Norfolk, and Warren County to desegregate their schools. As of today the six white junior and senior public high schools in the city of Norfolk, Lane High and Venable Elementary schools in Charlottesville, and Warren County High School have been closed by the Governor under the massive resistance legislation. Tempers are running short and the attention of people is being focused on the question of whether public education in Virginia should be abandoned or continued. This discussion is not concerned with the merits of desegregation or segregation, but rather with some of the economic consequences of abandoning and liquidating the present system of public education in Virginia.

A few facts taken from the annual re-

ports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and other state reports show the magnitude of the problem in quantitative terms. First of all, the total value of all school property in Virginia in 1957 was reported to be $576 million. Of this amount, $524 million represented sites and buildings, $42 million represented furniture and equipment, and just under $10 million represented school buses. These values do not represent replacement value but book value. The total net debt owed by the city and county school boards of Virginia is in excess of $200 million and total expenditures for public education in Virginia from state, federal, and local sources for the fiscal year 1956-57 amounted to $197,451,000. This in truth is big business representing a very substantial investment in buildings and properties, a sizeable indebtedness, and current annual expenditures of more than $200 million.

Joint Venture

The public school system of Virginia has been a joint financial venture between the state and the locality. In the main the responsibility for furnishing sites, buildings, equipment and supplies has been that of the local government. Funds for operation and maintenance—the largest item of which is instructional cost—has been shared by the state and the locality. The state's participation in this sharing has been directed toward establishing a minimum educational program throughout the state which communities could expand or improve with their own resources. The amount of state aid is related to the financial ability of the community to finance education. Most Virginia counties could not finance their educational programs on the current basis without state aid. For the counties as a group in 1956-57 about 47 per cent of the maintenance and operating funds are in the form of state grants. Among individual counties the corresponding extremes were from 16 per cent in Arlington to 73 per cent in Buchanan.

Pupil Increase

In the year 1956-57 the total average daily attendance in the public schools of Virginia was 692,978. In 1950 the corresponding figure was 536,831. The average daily attendance in 1957 was approximately 25,000 larger than in 1956 and the prospects are that the total number of children wishing to attend elementary and high schools in Virginia will increase by about 22,000 per year so that by 1964 and 1965 the average daily attendance will be in the neighborhood of 850,000. Total school enrollment will be about 935,000. One of the unfortunate aspeects of the present controversy over public education is that the number of children of school age keeps increasing while the facilities to accommodate such an increase are becoming more difficult to provide.

Proposals to abandon the system of public schools in Virginia need to be examined most carefully. As just pointed out, the number of children of elementary and high school age will continue to increase each year for many years to come. Before public schools

could be abandoned as a state policy, Section 129 of the State Constitution which says that the state will operate and maintain an efficient system of public free schools, would need to be amended to read somewhat as follows: "the state and each of its political subdivisions acknowledge no responsibility for providing any funds for the education of children in Virginia and are hereby prohibited from appropriating any public funds for such a purpose." If this were done the full responsibility of educating children would fall on the parents and private schools.

School Bonds

Such an amendment would further require the liquidation of all properties and equipment now used for public education. It is sheer speculation as to what proportion of the value each community might recover from the sale of its surplus school building sites, furniture, and equipment. One thing is certain, the bond holders would have in excess of $200 million owed them and would require immediate settlement. Whether any proceeds would be left after the bond holders were paid off would be uncertain. In the event the proceeds from the sale were less than the outstanding indebtedness, the local governments would have to increase taxes to make up any deficit. School bonds are full faith and credit obligations of the locality. If school buildings were sold to private school groups the financial underwriting necessary for the acquisition of property now valued at approximately $600 million would be a most substantial undertaking. Long established private schools have not found it easy to borrow money for new facilities. The liquidation of the public school system would result in the public giving away a substantial part of the investment it has made over many years for public school facilities.

Teachers

If the public school system were abandoned and liquidated, teachers and administrators dedicated to the tasks of teaching and training our children and youth would be confronted with a most serious dilemma. Some would accept positions in private schools and others would seek employment in the public school systems of other states or change their occupation. The comparatively rapid population growth in the United States and the general shortage of trained and qualified teachers would soon siphon off a substantial portion of the public school teachers in Virginia. The results of such a blow to public education would take many years to repair. The alternative of substituting private for public education may have a heroic appeal, but upon sober reflection scarcely seems prudent.

The abandonment of public education and the consequent liquidation of public school properties would decrease the need for state and local taxation. The resulting decreases in taxes for families with children in most instances would not be substantial enough to permit the great majority of families to send their children to private schools. The taxes paid by individuals during the period which the children are in school rarely cover the cost of education. However, people pay taxes throughout their working life so that over a lifetime most

families will pay the full cost of the education of their children. Single individuals and businesses likewise pay taxes which provide support to public schools both at the state and local level.

When one contemplates the consequences of abandoning public education it is quite clear that a complete revision and revamping of state and local tax policies and revenue structures would be required. At the present time even minor adjustments to tax and revenues policies are painful. Such a revolutionary change might be destructive of local government in Virginia as we now know it because such a course of action would require prompt and extensive changes in the respective functions of state and local government as well as the ways and means of financing the activities of each level of government. Underlying these proposals for the abandonment of public education is a philosophy that education primarily benefits the person receiving it and it is therefore appropriate for the parents of the children being educated to bear the full cost of providing this education during the time the children are in school. Such a theory, however, does not recognize the fact that the investment made in children by parents, the community, and other social agencies contributes immediately to the benefits of those who employ them and to the locality as a whole in all of its activities. If children have been poorly trained, the employer is obliged to provide facilities to remedy educational deficiencies along with the indispensable training required in breaking in workers for various jobs and positions. The benefits or the deficiencies of education thus become widely diffused throughout the entire social fabric.

Long Term

What would the long term effects of such a policy be on the Commonwealth of Virginia? First of all, it would find itself in a very unique position in that it would assume no obligation for the education of its children where other states in the nation have systems of public free education, most of which over the years have been better and more adequately financed than the public school system of Virginia. The higher cost of private schooling would unquestionably have the effect of encouraging families who now work in manufacturing plants, business concerns, and professional services in Virginia to move to other states which offer attractive facilities for the public education of their children. All business and industry, if it wished to retain present employees would find it necessary to increase wages and salaries to a point high enough to cover a substantial part of the cost of families sending their children to private schools. While it is quite probable that if public education were abandoned, business taxes would be decreased, it is unlikely that they would be decreased enough to offset the increased wage and salary costs of their employees for the support of private education. Even if such a venture were ultimately successful, there is little doubt

that for a decade or more efforts to promote and stimulate economic development would be relatively ineffective.

Another matter is the accreditation of schools. If the present public school system were abandoned each new private school would need to be accredited. For full accreditation the new private schools would need to meet the standards prescribed by such organizations as the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and the American Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. At best such a procedure would be long and involved and students graduating from such schools and who plan to go on to college would find themselves at a very distinct disadvantage. This group has been about one-fourth of the youth attaining age 18. A further aspect of this problem is that about three-fourths of all children in Virginia attaining age 18 do *not* go on to college. Would the private schools over the next decade or so be able to provide the type of secondary education which would prepare these students to assume a proper place in our society? Such developments have been very difficult undertaking for the public schools and they would be no less so for the private schools.

If we consider the relationship of education to the society in which we live we find that few people are independent in the sense that they can provide all of the food, fiber, and facilities for their own convenience and comfort. Life in the latter half of the 20th century is highly interdependent. The increase in specialized manufacturing and distribution makes it increasingly so. Moreover, people do not grow up and remain in the places in which they were born. One of the freedoms in America is the freedom to seek opportunity wherever it may be found. The growth and expansion of government, business, and industry in Virginia since 1940 has been accompanied by a cessation of net migration from the state; in place of exporting people there has been a net import. This pattern of development has been associated with the expansion of business and commerce and a general improvement in the economic fortunes of the Commonwealth. Progress and development in the future will be arrested if the social, economic and political policies of the state are such as to discourage people from remaining and/or settling in Virginia. If public education were abandoned there is little doubt that many people would be discouraged from remaining in or emigrating into Virginia and the economic progress of the past two decades would be arrested.

Understanding

Finally, life today calls for a departure from provincialism. All peoples everywhere find that their fortunes are affected by developments in remote parts of the world. Rapid transportation and communication and the increasing exchange of goods and services throughout the nation and the world call for understanding and good will among people. Internal strife and dissension impairs the ability of people to take full advantage of their opportunities.

The foregoing discussion points out some of the major developments that would likely occur if public education were *completely* abandoned. The read-

justments would be very extensive and would require a great deal of painstaking investigation to determine their full effect. In a real sense abandoning public education in the 20th century is a revolutionary idea. The alternatives to public education no doubt could be worked out in time but it would be a long and tortuous road fraught with difficulty and uncertainty. This apparently is not fully realized. During the present crisis occasioned by the desegregation orders of the federal courts and by other criticisms of our school system confusion and uncertainty abound. Proposals to abandon public schools because of operating difficulties is clearly confusing means (administrative procedures involved in operating public schools) with ends (public education).

Damaging Effect

It would appear that the foremost question before the people of Virginia today is whether or not they believe in public education and will support it. Abandonment or weakening of public education over a period of five to ten years would undermine the present economic strength of the state. The effects of this weakening process would be cumulative. The damaging effects of the present dislocation will be more apparent one, two, or five years hence. Reference has already been made to the fact that Virginia's economic growth during the past two decades has reversed the former pattern of net out-migration of people from Virginia to one of net in-migration. Such migrants have built plants and facilities, established businesses, and brought in skilled workers who were not available among the native population. This has been the basis of the relative prosperity and growth during the past two decades.

Plants

An increasing number of the new industries in Virginia are having difficulties in bringing into their plants the highly trained personnel needed to guide production and distribution programs. Some skilled workers in these new plants and industries have already left because they regarded the education of their children to be of paramount importance. They have returned to places where the situation is more dependable and stable than in Virginia. As more schools become subject to federal court orders to desegregrate, more and more communities in Virginia will be affected by this kind of situation. If one is inclined to doubt this fact he might ask himself this question: If I were interested in establishing a new business or a branch plant would I consider locating such a plant in an area in which the provision for educating children of workers is in a state of confusion and turmoil, or which did not provide advantages for young people comparable to those of other areas? Of the many new plants which have established themselves in Virginia within the last ten years, how many would give serious thought to closing their operation in this state if these difficulties increased? Any environment which is unstable and in which public education is threatened is not conducive to business development or expansion.

Kentucky Desegregation Proceeds At All Levels

Kentucky

Department of Education

Report

Each year since the school year of 1955-56, a brief report has been issued relating to the results of public school integration. This is the fourth report which is being distributed for the purpose of giving factual information concerning the program. . . .

The districts which have had integration programs at any time during the four-year period from the beginning in 1954-58, are shown even though there are no such enrollments this school term. It will be observed that growth continues in most all areas of integration although there are evidences of trends toward a leveling off in the rate of progress.

The extent of the integration program in Kentucky at the beginning of the school term 1958-59, can best be shown by comparing the results to the total situation. The total pupil membership in the public schools of the state at the close of the school year June 30, 1958, was 586,149 pupils. Approximately 6.8 per cent of these or 39,708 are Negro pupils. At the present time there are 215 local school districts of which 175 have a Negro population. Forty (40) districts, 20 counties and 20 independents have no colored pupils. The total number of professional staff members employed in the schools last year was 23,-432 teachers, supervisors and administrators.

Reports from local school districts show that since the start of integration three years ago, 105 districts have put into operation the integration of their pupil personnel by actually enrolling pupils of both races in non-segregated

Kentucky

(Continued)

schools.

In all schools of the integrated districts there is an open policy. That is, Negro pupils who desire to enroll are admitted to any school within the district provided they live within the attendance area of the school. In addition to these 105 districts, there are 18 others which have an open policy. Districts with an open policy and no mixed enrollment this year are: Barren, Boyle, Edmonson, Graves, Harlan, Laurel, McCracken, Webster counties and Glasgow, Paris, Cattlettsburg, Harlan, East Bernstadt, Standford, Mt. Sterling, Central City and Providence independent districts.

These 123 districts representing 70 per cent of the districts with a mixed population contain over 80 per cent of the Negro group.

Six districts which had mixed enrollments in former years have no such enrollments this year. These districts are: Calloway, Johnson, Owsley and Wolfe counties and Labanon and Murray independent districts.

Six new districts were added this year. These are: Owen County and Bardstown, Cloverport, Fulton, Hopkinsville and Liberty independent districts.

The growth of integration since the beginning of the school year 1955-56, is shown in the following table:

INTEGRATION

	1955-56	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59
In School Districts—				
Total number districts in state	224	221	216	215
Districts with Negro population	184	177	170	175
Districts integrated	30	91	94	123
Per cent of districts integrated	16.0	50.8	55.3	70.3
In Schools—				
Total schools in integrated districts	826	1,742	1,736	1,730
Schools integrated	41	233	262	331
Per cent integrated	5.0	13.3	15.4	19.1
In Pupil Personnel—				
Enrolled in integrated districts	97,903	325,478	362,269	402,000
Enrolled in integrated schools	16,981	128,324	144,079	160,889
White pupils enrolled	16,688	120,307	133,182	149,392
Negro pupils enrolled	313	8,017	10,897	11,492
In Teaching Personnel—				
Number teachers in integrated districts	3,496	11,889	13,384	13,400
Number teachers in integrated schools	641	4,821	5,647	6,053
White teachers	639	4,708	5,475	5,915
Negro teachers	2	113	172	138

Bus Desegregation Gains

News Release

January 12, 1959

At least 34 Southern cities besides Atlanta have desegregated their city bus systems with only Montogomery experiencing any noteworthy incidents.

In most of these cases, desegregation took place without court action—usually by a change of policy on the part of the transit company. In only three—Montgomery, Ala., Columbia, S. C., and New Orleans, La.—did the action come by court order.

The number 34 represents a gain of 13 cities which have desegregated their bus systems since the Southern Regional Council conducted a spot survey in January, 1957. At that time, the survey revealed at least 21 Southern cities with desegregated seating on buses.

SRC found at that time that most of the cases of desegregation on Southern city buses dated back to April, 1956, when the Supreme Court dismissed an appeal from the U. S. 4th Circuit Court of Appeals holding the Columbia, S. C., bus segregation ordinance unconstitutional (S. C. Electric & Gas Co. vs. Sarah Mae Flemming). Although this ruling applied only to Columbia, a number of city transit companies voluntarily desegregated buses.

As in the 1957 survey, SRC found that in most of the cities checked many passengers continued to follow the customary pattern of separate seating. However, passengers are free to sit where they wish, and some degree of desegregated seating is found in each of the cities reported.

These cities are: Florence, Sheffield, Tuscumbia area, and Montgomery, Alabama; Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Fort Smith, and Hot Springs, Arkansas; Miami, Miami Beach, Daytona Beach, and Tampa, Florida; New Orleans, Louisiana; Charlotte, Greensboro, Durham, Winston-Salem, and Raleigh, North Carolina; Spartanburg, Columbia, and Charleston, South Carolina; Knoxville, Nashville, and Chattanooga, Tennessee; San Antonio, Corpus Christi, and Dallas, Texas; Richmond, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Newport News, Petersburg, Charlottesville, Fredericksburg, Lynchburg, and Roanoke, Virginia.

Highlights From Recent Literature

New South summarizes recently published periodical, pamphlet, and book length material of interest to its readers. These synopses liberally paraphrase and condense the statements of the authors, although direct quotations are used whenever economy permits.

Becker, Gary S. THE ECONOMICS OF DISCRIMINATION. University of Chicago Press, 1957. 137 pages, $3.50.

In this study the author develops a pioneer theory of discrimination in the market place, in order to supplement the psychologists' and sociologists' analysis of causes with an analysis of the economic consequences of discrimination. It is demonstrated, through the use of the techniques and analytical models of economists, that discrimination reduces the incomes of both majority and minority groups (although the majority group is affected to a lesser degree). The author states that the major contribution of the book is to develop a theory of non-pecuniary motivation and to apply it quantitatively to discrimination in the market place.

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Braden, Anne. THE WALL BETWEEN. Monthly Review Press, New York, 1958. 306 pages, $5.00.

Although the main line of action of this factual story centers around an attempt to initiate residential desegregation in Louisville, Kentucky, it is deep in perception and broad in scope. The actions of those on both sides of the "wall" are considerably illuminated by the insight of the author, "one who might well have been on either side of the conflict."

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Cable, George W. THE NEGRO QUESTION. Edited by Arlin Turner, Doubleday and Company, Garden City, New York, 1958. 286 pages, $3.95.

A selection of essays, letters, and speeches written between 1875 and 1890 by a Southern novelist-social critic (once a Confederate soldier), "The Negro Question" analyzes the major problems and conflicts with which the South is confronted today. On the basis of religious, political, moral, and social considerations, the author concludes that the treatment of the Negro has been immoral, unjust, and impractical, thereby soundly arguing the case for extending unrestricted civil rights to all people.

• • •

Harlan, Louis R. SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL (Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915).

University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1958. 290 pages, $6.00.

From the fly leaf: "Here is told, in a successful blend of warm interest and cold statistics, the story of public education in the four Southern seaboard states under the impact of two powerful forces—the wave of racism that swept the South in the early 1900's and the efforts during the same period of a group of Northern philanthropists to help the crusading school men of the South toward their goal of 'universal' education. Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia swung . . . toward a slowly expanding public school system—and toward an ever-widening inequality of education between whites and Negroes."

Although, as Mr. Harlan states, this study is only indirectly related to the desegregation movement, it is of particular interest in these times of threat to the South's painfully constructed public school system.

• • •

Simpson, George Eaton and Yinger, J. Milton. RACIAL AND CULTURAL MINORITIES (Revised Edition). Harper and Brothers, New York, 1958. 881 pages, $7.50.

"Racial and Cultural Minorities" analyzes majority-minority relations with the following purposes: (1) to synthesize the bulk of material dealing with this subject, thereby separating valid observations from errors and exaggerations and pointing up omissions, and (2) to connect studies in this field to the whole area of the sciences of human behavior in such a manner that every proposition concerning intergroup relations might be understood as a manifestation of the total complex of human life. The 1958 edition includes extensive revisions in a number of chapters, covering the increasing amount of study and research as well as the dramatic changes in majority-minority affairs which have transpired in the past five years.

• • •

Tumin, Melvin M. DESEGREGATION: RESISTANCE AND READINESS. Princeton Universiy Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1958. 270 pages, $5.00.

The publishers state that the purpose of this book, which is based on a field study of white adult male citizens of Guilford County, North Carolina, is to show with evidence what attitudes toward desegregation exist and what other factors bear upon these attitudes and in what ways. These people were tested in five ways, ranging from what they "thought" about Negroes to what action they would take when faced with certain real situations (in a restaurant, in a bus, in school, etc.). Their responses were grouped according to eleven facts of their lives: years of school completed, exposure to mass media, occupation, income, number of children, religious affiliation, church attendance, urban-rural residence, work experience, age, mobility.

Some of the conclusions reached through the Guilford County survey should make this book one of the more valuable publications of recent years in the field of inter-group relations in the South.

Find Truth On Desegregation

From

Christian Century

January 21, 1959

Racially inclusive churches number only 27 in 100 of the Congregational Christian churches in U. S. cities, according to the home missions board of this denomination. After conducting a two-year study of 1,054 churches having 528,000 members, the board considered how it might do more to put into practice the denomination's policy of encouraging a nonsegregated church in a segregated society. Among other actions, it voted to give financial aid to any congregation or other church group which experienced difficulty in putting interracial principles into effect. Token contributions of $2,500 each to the National Council of Churches' department of racial and cultural relations and to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were also voted by the board. In making the study, the researchers considered a church to be racially inclusive if it had in its membership one or more persons of races other than that of the dominant racial group in the congregation. Of the 27 per cent of integrated churches, about half had accepted Negroes; the other half had accepted persons of other minority races. In a little over two per cent of the integrated churches, the dominant race was Negro, with whites as the minority race. The study showed that churches of the east and west coasts were more likely to be integrated than were churches of the midwest or south. Truman B. Douglass of the home missions board said: "Such self-examination as we have undertaken requires a measure of courage." This is true, but we may still hope that other boards and churches will follow the example of the Congregational Christians. Such searching for and publication of the truth and such vigorous self-criticism concerning the situation revealed by careful research is not as common as it should be. It is called for now on the part of other churches in relation to this fateful issue. Nobody believes that the disparity which has been discovered to exist between grandiose pronouncements and actual achievements among the Congregationalists is characteristic of one denomination only.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"Our public schools are more important than our custom of separation of the races and the schools must be maintained even if the only way means desegregation. . . . We have repeated God's will that 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself' without doing much to bring brotherhood about."

The Reverend Leon Smith
Pastor, Atlanta
Park Street Methodist Church
Quoted in *Atlanta Constitution*

* * *

"Being even more convinced today of the necessity for the formation of a biracial committee to serve as a sounding board for expression of opinions, this grand jury has voted to constitute itself henceforth as a private organizational group of citizens to work toward this objective."

Fulton County (Ga.) Grand Jury
Quoted by Associated Press

* * *

"I appeal to you, as I do to all citizens, not to let the poison virus of hatred and discord get into our government. Let us be of good will towards all, the high and the low, the rich and the poor, and people of every color, race or creed. . . . Atlanta has a good reputation all over the nation. With your help and support and that of our citizens, let us resolve, regardless of temptation or abuse, to maintain that good reputation in the years to come."

Mayor William B. Hartsfield
To Atlanta City Aldermen
Quoted in *Atlanta Journal*

"It (the South) is the last great economic frontier; it has the largest reservoir of unused labor and the largest undeveloped consumer's market. But all of this is promise unless the focal problem of race is met with integrity and principle. The old South which our demagogues, politicians, and courthouse boys remember with such nostalgia is shrinking. Once it was 16 states, then 13; now it is five hard-core resistance states. The future will pass us by, that is, the five hard-core resistance states."

The Reverend Edward Cahill,
Pastor, Atlanta United Liberal Church,
Quoted in *Atlanta Daily World*

* * *

"There are no very significant mental differences between races; and color is only the wrapping paper of your personality."

Dr. George Crane
Quoted in *Miami Herald*

* * *

"Oklahoma has made a good record on integration insofar as state institutions are concerned. This includes higher education and the major portion of our common schools. In most cases it has been accomplished without incident. A good deal of the credit is due to the attitude of Governor Gary, who accepted from the outset that the U. S. Supreme Court's decisions was the law of the land. He stated that this was in accordance with his oath of office and that he would follow that oath. I have no intention of changing the policy that has been followed by Governor Gary."

Governor Howard Edmonson
of Oklahoma
Quoted by United Press International